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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION
ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 14 May 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit, enclosed herewith, the statement of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (annex I) and the statement of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the Declaration of the Ministerial Meeting of the European Community on Bosnia and Herzegovina (annex II) adopted at Brussels on 11 May 1992.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and the documents annexed to it circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 68.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIC
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX I

Statement of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, issued on 13 May 1992

The most recent document adopted by the European Community, unfortunately, also has many elements of a one-sided approach to the complex situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina which is part of the overall and still unsettled Yugoslav crisis. This fact objectively does not contribute to the comprehensive perception of all aspects of the situation and real positions of all relevant partners responsible for the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for its immediate and peaceful overcoming. Such an approach does not help the necessary end to the armed conflict which has already taken many human lives and caused severe destruction. The bias shown in the past period in respect of the Yugoslav crisis as a whole and ways of its resolution has proved, this time again, to be unproductive and rather than bringing about the much-needed quiet and democratic agreements it has only worsened existing confrontations.

The Government of Yugoslavia unequivocally and consistently insists on the peaceful political settlement of all controversial issues. Based on this position it calls for an early resumption of the Lisbon Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina, proceeding from its stance in principle that all the three constituent nations should agree on their fate, relations among them, on the constitutional structure of the Republic and its future, on a footing of equality and by consensus. In these efforts, the Government of Yugoslavia expects an active and constructive approach of the European Community. Delaying these negotiations is not helping calm the situation, but may only aggravate it, thus threatening the safety and genuine interests of all citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina and might have much wider implications.

We consider it necessary to recall that the Yugoslav Presidency has adopted the decision on the withdrawal of JNA from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Concrete talks on this subject have already taken place. The relocation of JNA members coming from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the territory of their own state has been speeded up. This process will be completed within the next 10 days or so. The Yugoslav Government is confident that this is the most effective way to solve all outstanding problems related to the status of JNA in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which naturally implies the de-blocking of JNA installations, renunciation of attacks and provocations against the JNA and peaceful evacuation of officers and soldiers coming from the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Regarding the positions contained in the Declaration relating to the questions of borders and the status of national minorities, we consider that there is nothing disputable or unclear about our stance: the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims to any one, borders have been established with the former Yugoslav republics, the newly formed states, as

well as with the United Nations Protected Areas, a border regime has been established according to Yugoslav laws, minority rights are guaranteed even beyond the CSCE standards. It is all the more surprising that recommendations have been made on possible sanctions against Yugoslavia, on its diplomatic isolation and suspension from the CSCE. All the experiences gained in international relations show that such means and pressures are inappropriate, they are contrary to the norms of international law and inconsistent with bilateral conventions.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expresses its full readiness and determination to contribute to the successful continuation and conclusion of the Conference on Yugoslavia on the basis of its original ideas and is unambiguously committed to comprehensive and equitable cooperation with the member States of the European Community and with other States, in the framework of relations based on mutual benefits and respect.

ANNEX II

Statement of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the Declaration of the Ministerial Meeting of the European Community on Bosnia and Herzegovina, issued on 14 May 1992

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs notes with great concern that the European Community persistently continues along the road of one-sidedness and partiality in its approach, interpretation and settlement of the overall Yugoslav crisis. Such an approach is devoid of necessary objectivity and limits the real possibilities for the European Community and its member States to contribute to a positive and just solution to this crisis.

This fact is most evident in paragraph 1 of the Declaration which reaffirms the position that Yugoslavia has maintained from the beginning, namely that a political settlement is possible only if it is based on the principles established in the proceedings of the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina so far, which implies the consensus of the three constituent peoples - Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

It is precisely the most recent developments that confirm that negotiation has no alternative and that it is the only way of reaching an agreement and compromise. An unprincipled and risky policy of the European Community that has prevailed, particularly the premature recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has sacrificed the peace and relative stability that existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina until that time. Subsequently, this Republic has been pushed into such a deterioration of inter-ethnic relations which made inevitable the outbreak of armed conflicts and their escalation.

Besides making no mention of its share of responsibility for the present tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European Community practically lays all the blame on "the JNA and the Belgrade authorities", in a most unsubstantiated and one-sided manner, fully overlooking and ignoring the irrefutable fact that a compact part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. northern Herzegovina and Posavina, has for quite some time been under full authority of the Republic of Croatia and that both military and paramilitary forces of that Republic have killed and expelled the Serbian population in Mostar, Bosanski Brod, Kupres, Derventa, etc., as well as that the Serbian population in Sarajevo, Gorazde and in many other places have been under attack of 50,000 "green berets" and the so-called territorial defence forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the Community and its member States fully ignore the fact that the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina has issued, immediately after the talks in Skopje on the transformation and future status of JNA in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an order to the so-called territorial defence to prepare and carry out attacks on the manpower and installations of JNA throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. We do not understand how the European Community, despite such a situation, can exert pressure on Yugoslavia to adopt decisions it has already taken on the date of the proclamation of the new Constitution of Yugoslavia.

The public of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot understand why the European Community repeatedly insists on respect for borders when it is known that it is explicitly and implicitly contained in the Declaration adopted on the occasion of the proclamation of the new Constitution in which it is emphasized that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims against any one in its neighbourhood.

The Yugoslav public finds it even more difficult to understand the ambition of the European Community to prejudge, at this stage, the outcome of the Conference on Yugoslavia concerning the rights of minorities and national or ethnic groups, including the "state succession". By such an act, the European Community impairs the integrity of the Conference and complicates and renders even more difficult its work. This all the more so since it committed itself to respect the equality of all the participants in the Conference and to treat equally all the options suggested. If the European Community has such ambitions, then it confirms also by this Declaration that it does not respect the mandate of the Conference entrusted to it by its participants and the CSCE and that it intends to continue its arbitrary attitude towards the Yugoslav crisis.

The European Community decision to recall the ambassadors of its member States for consultations is the matter of the European Community policy. However, reducing the number and level of contacts cannot contribute to the affirmation of the dialogue and, consequently, to the creation of better conditions for a positive, just and lasting settlement of the overall Yugoslav crisis.

Furthermore, the request for suspension of the Yugoslav delegation in the participation and decision-making at the CSCE meetings is not contributive to the interests of maintaining and strengthening the dialogue and to the insistence on relying primarily on the negotiating process. Such a request is also contrary to the spirit and letter of the CSCE which neither provides for nor accepts the policy of sanctions or retaliation.

Indications of increasing the isolation of the Yugoslav delegation in international fora, as well the possibility of imposing new economic sanctions, confirm that, in further dealing with the Yugoslav crisis, the European Community has unfortunately opted for confrontation rather than for cooperation, which undercuts its credentials as a bona fide and constructive factor and takes it further away from its original offer of good offices in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

An illustration of it is the ambivalent attitude of the European Community towards the continuity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, contrary to customary international practice in such cases. Such an attitude proceeds apparently from the findings of the Arbitration Commission that Yugoslavia is in the process of disappearance which was immediately rejected by Serbia and Montenegro as inaccurate and unacceptable and denied convincingly by a half of Yugoslavia.

In expressing their profound concern at such attitudes and policy of the European Community in relation to the Yugoslav crisis which, as was regrettably borne out also in the past, created more problems than solved, the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will resolutely and immediately continue its activities that contribute to a speedy overcoming of the Yugoslav crisis, primarily in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this sense, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs recalls to yesterday's invitation to the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, to resume talks on military and other issues in this Republic and successfully realize the previous decision on the withdrawal of all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the military formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina by 19 May. The Yugoslav authorities fully support the resolute appeal of the Government of the Republic of Serbia for an immediate cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a view to enabling an early resumption of the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina and its continuance until a tripartite consensus is reached on all outstanding issues of the future constitutional structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav authorities also welcome the proposal of the leadership of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina concerning possible demilitarization of Bosnia and Herzegovina after a successful completion of the Conference as well as its readiness to make an agreement on military questions within the Conference and on the basis of the tripartite consensus.

The authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are resolutely opposed to any war, especially the civil war raging in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a way of resolving problems and reiterate their most profound confidence that just and lasting solutions can be achieved only through peace and negotiations. They call upon all parties engaged in armed conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as other countries and international factors, not to do anything by their position and attitude that could aggravate the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina or endanger peace efforts and the resumption and prospects for a successful outcome of the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina.